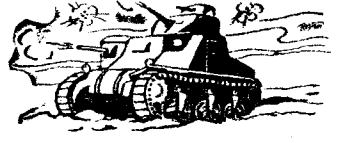


THE WAR IN REVIEW



THE basic pattern of Allied peacemaking was unveiled at a Prussian palace in Potsdam last week when the Big 3—Generalissimo Josef Stalin, Prime Minister Clement Attlee, and President Harry Truman—released a 7,000-word document detailing the results of their 17-day conference behind locked doors.

It was a hard peace they drew—harsher by far than the repressive provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The Pact of Potsdam carved off great sections of



Stalin



Truman



Attlee

Germany and handed them to Soviet Russia and Poland. It decreed the stripping of German factories—for the benefit of Russia—so as to leave Germany helpless not only to wage war, but to rebuild a great industrial economy.

The Potsdam conference left many critical issues unresolved. Not once is the Near or Middle East mentioned. The problems over the Dardanelles, Turkey, and the oil reserves of the Middle East nowhere are discussed in the declaration by the Big 3. Many major decisions were left for the proposed Council of Foreign Ministers, including, presumably, determination over Allied partition of Italian colonies.

Among the principal provisions in the Potsdam statement were these:

TERRITORIAL AGGRANDIZEMENT

Soviet Russia and her satellite, Poland, emerged from Potsdam with huge slices of German territory. The U.S.S.R., already enriched by many thousands of square miles wrested from old Poland under the terms of her pact with the Nazis, grabbed an additional 5,400 miles of East Prussia at Potsdam, and won Attlee-Truman acceptance of her demand for the ice-free German port of Koenigsberg.

Soviet-dominated Poland also did handsomely at Potsdam. She was given those parts of East Prussia which the Russians didn't take, Pomerania, and mouth-filling slices of West Prussia, and Upper and Lower Silesia. Included in the Polish booty is the old Polish Corridor, the former Free City of Danzig, and the Baltic shipbuilding center of Stettin, which has been under German control for 225 years.

Poland's western frontier will run to within a few miles of Berlin itself, along the Oder and the western Neisse Rivers to the Czechoslovakia frontier.

The Pact of Potsdam does not complete the dismemberment of Germany or the aggrandizement of the Allies. The claims of France, Belgium, and Holland on Germany's western frontier have not yet been filled by the conquerors.

STATUS OF GERMANY

The Pact of Potsdam establishes the principle that "in organizing the German economy, primary emphasis shall be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries."

The Big 3 asserted that they were determined to wipe out German Nazism and militarism for all time, but they assured the world that "it is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their lives on a democratic and peaceful basis."

Nevertheless, despite this pious assurance, the Big 3 proceeded to make it as difficult as they could to enable the democratic forces in Germany to lead the way to reconstruction. The Pact of Potsdam provides for the complete disarmament of Germany—which every non-Nazi everywhere applauds—but in planning for this purpose, the Big 3 ordered the deindustrialization of Germany, the looting of her factories by the Allies, principally Russia, and the saddling of such fantastic economic restrictions on conquered Germany as to render her reconstruction as a stable, democratic force in Europe virtually impossible.

Politically, the Potsdam planners provided that "all democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussions shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany." However, "for the time being there can be no central German government." Local self-government is ordered restored throughout Germany on democratic principles and in particular "through elective councils as rapidly as is consistent with military security and the purposes of military occupation."

Similarly, "subject to the necessity of maintaining military security," the Big 3 decreed that "freedom of speech, press, and religion shall be permitted, and religious institutions shall be respected."

REPARATIONS

The 3 victorious Powers agreed to exact their separate reparations from Germany only in the separate zones which each of the Big 3 occupy and from "appropriate external assets," with one major exception. This is that Russia, in addition to the loot from her own zone, shall be entitled to take from areas occupied by American, Britain, and France 25 per cent of the industrial capital equipment deemed not necessary to support a German "peace economy."

In the reparations clauses of the Potsdam statement Soviet Russia makes its domination of Poland official. "The U.S.S.R.," announces the Pact of Potsdam, "undertakes to settle the reparation claims of Poland from its own share of reparations."

Payment of reparations, said the Big 3, "should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance." Russia generously agreed to waive all claims to the German gold seized by the Allies, preferring instead the right to strip Germany of factories, machines, machine tools, and equipment desired by the Soviet Union for her own development and expansion.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

The Big 3 created a Council of Foreign Ministers, on which France and China would also be represented, to meet regularly in London, beginning Sept. 1. As its major task, "the Council shall be authorized to draw up, with a view to their submission to the United Nations, treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, and to propose settlements of territorial questions outstanding on the termination of the war in Europe."

OTHER POTSDAM PROVISIONS

1. The Kommandantur of Berlin, whereby control of Germany is maintained by Russian-American-British-French commanders in the German capital, is continued, but "so far as is practicable, there shall be uniformity of treatment of German population throughout Germany."

2. The Big 3 announced that they would welcome membership in the United Nations organization by the nations which remained neutral in World War II, except Franco Spain.

3. The Messrs. Truman and Attlee placed their stamp of approval on Stalin's Polish regime and reaffirmed their decision to have nothing to do with the London Polish group. Also, the 3 Powers approved the decision of the Polish provisional government to hold "free and unfettered elections as soon as possible and on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates."

4. In the field of freedom of the press, the 3 Powers agreed that the Allied press "shall enjoy full freedom

to report to the world upon developments in Poland before and during the elections." Regarding freedom of the press in other areas, the Big 3 were more evasive. Said they: "The 3 governments have no doubt that in view of the changed conditions resulting from the termination of the war in Europe, representatives of the Allied press will enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland." Yugoslavia was not even mentioned.

RUSSIA AND THE SECOND FRONT

Although the prospect of a second-front against Japan is dangled before Americans everytime there is a Big 3 conference, there was no more specific action taken at Potsdam than at Yalta or Teheran. The Russians remained silent regarding the war in the Pacific, and in all the Pact of Potsdam, the only mention of Japan appears, oddly enough, in the section dealing with Italy. Italy is listed as deserving of early Big 3 attention because, among other things, "she has now joined with the Allies in the struggle against Japan."

President Truman revealed as he sailed for home that powerful new blows to speed complete defeat of Japan and liberation of Japanese-held territories were planned by the Anglo-American high commands at Potsdam.

On the following day it was revealed that Gen. Douglas MacArthur had been placed in command of the entire Ryukyu Island chain south of Japan as a base "from which a mighty invasion force is being forged" for the final conquest of Japan.



MacArthur

ATOMIC POWER UNLEASHED

The prospect of greatly shortening the war in the Pacific was enhanced tremendously this week when President Truman announced the first use of an atomic bomb, described as the greatest destructive force in history. The single bomb, said to pack the destructive power of a 20,000-ton load carried by 2,000 Super Fortresses, was dropped over Japan by an American Air Force bomber with results that had not been officially disclosed as this issue of The Progressive went to press.

The atomic bomb, harnessing the basic power of the universe by drawing its force as the sun draws its power, is the deadliest and most terrible weapon in all history, and unless the principles developed by scientists in studying the atom are harnessed for constructive purposes, this world-shaking development could lead to the destruction of the very civilization which produced the atomic bomb. (An expert, interpretive discussion of this new development will appear in The Progressive soon.)

The Potsdam Pact: Disaster For Europe

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

(Continued from Page 1)

accept from foreign conquerors the ideas and the teachings we say they should adopt and believe in? But if they did, would this make for the advancement of Europe as a whole? If so, then there are many ethical and Christian teachings that ought to be abandoned once and for all.

Already Anne O'Hare McCormick writes for the New York Times—with evident doubts that the plan is wise and just—that the full result of the Potsdam decision "will not be felt in the lifetime of the men who make them." She need not be so sure. It looked in 1919 as if the Treaty of Versailles, just completed, would control Germany indefinitely. Josephus Daniels triumphantly said then that Germany was finished, tied down for 50 years, and would never again trouble the world, and I have no doubt that his views were shared by Mr. Wilson and by his fellow-members of the Wilson Cabinet.

THAT the whole pact is a triumph for Soviet Russia our press freely admits. Stalin has had his way almost completely. He gets a majority of the reparations that are to be squeezed out of the Germans. Even in the territory occupied by ourselves and England and France machinery is to be taken out and shipped to Russia. It is calmly assumed that after a long period of years of complete domination by Russia of its section of the conquered land, it will be ready to announce some day that the happy hour has arrived when the German people have so far adopted Russian ways of thought, politics, and life, and have become such good pacifists that Mr. Stalin's successor is willing to withdraw his troops and turn what is left of the Russian part of Germany back to the Germans.

How incredibly trustful some people are! Will there not be every temptation to the Russians to communize their part of Germany, to install their methods of government, even though there is to be a joint control of

the conquered territories? But all of this has been accepted after a few days' examination and discussion, by the 3 men who dominate the world and parcel out territories and peoples in secret meeting.

FINALLY, let me go back to the past once more. Let me recall what Gen. Smuts wrote after he signed, under protest, the Treaty of Versailles:

"This treaty is simply the liquidation of the war situation in the world. The spirit of new life, the victory of the great human ideals for which the people have shed their blood and their treasure without stint, the fulfillment of their aspirations toward a new international order, and a fairer and better world are not written in this treaty, and will not be written in treaties. 'Not in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, but in spirit and in truth,' as the Great Master said, must the foundation of the new order be laid."

And then there is the immortal speech of Woodrow Wilson on Jan. 22, 1917, when he appealed for a "peace without victory." He continued thus:

"I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealment. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit."

History has justified him completely once. It will do so again.

Today all Europe is heading straight to a Winter of famine, misery, despair, with innumerable deaths from hunger or cold. That alone will make the utter folly and stupidity of Potsdam apparent wherever men read—and think.